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REFLECTIONS
UPON HIS
HIGHNESS
THE
PRINCE
OF
ORANGE
DECLARATION.



HOLY-ROOD-HOUSE,

Re-printed by Mr. P. B. Engwier, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty,
for His Highness's Chappel and Colledge. 1688

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Upon his HIGHNESS the

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E ' S
D E C L A R A T I O N .

§. 1. AVING Read the *Prince of Orange's Declaration*, the Reflections I now Publish, did very easily occur to me in the perusal of it. The first Thing I looked for, was the exposing of our *Clandestine League with France*, so much talk'd of, to excuse the *Dutch Preparations and Invasion*; but I find after all, not one word said of *France*, or any such secret League, the main thing pretended and expected; Ay, that hateful and dreaded thing, which was to Introduce a *French Army* to destroy us Protestants, and set up Popery: The only fear, that could excuse the Prince's coming, or make the thoughts of it any thing tolerable to an *English Man*, tho' a Protestant. This deep silence, upon the first and greatest Point, The Point in which we are most Interested, and about which we have had the least pain, and thought of heart, shews evidently, we have been abused with feigned dangers and false fears: And what for? If not to cover, break and lessen the guilt of a Protestant Invasion?

§. 2. This is not all: Had his *Highness* only pretended to come to deliver the King from *Evil Counsellors*, and to engage Him further into the Interest of *England and Europe*, that he might not seem a Property to a few ill Men for narrow ends, The *Prince of Orange* had less needed an Apology with some others; But to overlook the King, a Lawful King, the Father of his Princess, in whose Right he can only pretend to come, and instead of the Kings Name, to use in *England* the Style of *WE and US, Commanding, Preserving, Advancing, Rewarding, Punishing, having of Parliaments, and settling the Nations*; And last of all, that he will then send back his Army, which sheweth he intends to stay behind himself, Can declare nothing else to us, but that his Design is to be King. Now, how this is practicable, and a Rightful King alive, his Uncle and his Wives Father, through whom only he can pretend any Interest; And besides this, an Heir apparent, the *Prince of Wales*,

who hath a Prior, and Incontestable Title, I leave first to the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the Realm, to think upon, whose *Blood* and *Estates* are like to be a great part of the price of such a Quarrel; and next, to the *Divines* in Point of Conscience, and to the *Lawyers* in Point of Justice, to consider seriously of.

§. 3. I cannot find how he States a *Clear and Just Call*: A Son, against a Father: A Nephew, against an Uncle; A Neighbour, against a Neighbour; without any Act of Hostility or Breach of Peace on the Kings Part, can to be sure be no good Call: But that a Protestant, after all our exclamations against Papists, should attempt such an Invasion, without any publick Complaint, Memorial, or Demand made, and yet the *Dutch* Embassador, in the Name of the *Dutch* Government (of which the *Prince of Orange*, is so great a part, that the rest seem to have scarce any) had often assured the King, that *their Preparations of War were not Intended against Him*; I say, that a Neighbour, a Nephew, a Son and a Protestant too, should do so extraordinary a thing, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Nations, is without President, and in my poor Opinion, Almighty God will, (I was ready to say, can) never bless the Attempt.

§. 4. The most *Melancholy* part of this business is, that hereby the Protestant Religion, is at once unnecessarily exposed and hazarded; for if the *King* prevail, what can the *Prince of Orange's* sort of Protestants expect at His Hand? Will the Attempt then be no Reproach to the Name of the Religion, and the Miscarriage no danger to the thing? The first cannot fail, but I hope the latter will: But then it must be by the Union of the *English* Protestants for their *English King*, that to them chiefly, if not only, the Honour of His Preservation may be Attributed; this Love they have to themselves and their Religion, which is their true Interest, will oblige them to; for if they change Masters, they Entail Blood upon their Children, about the Title of the Crown: And if they will keep their Master and shew their Strength, by saving Him, it will convince Him, He cannot be safe without them, and therefore He cannot fail to please and secure them. I say, this Invasion is Staking the whole Protestant Interest in England at once, and God deliver us from such desperate Gamsters.

If this were Really a Fit, or Transport of Zeal for the Protestant Cause, we must needs think the Prince hath mist his Man, and might have found other places fitter for his Enterprize. Had he set his Face towards the Country we were said to be in a secret League with, by whose only help *England* can be made Popish, and where the Protestants have already been ill used, and their Edicts entirely violated, by which they were once preserved, and where the Prince himself, in his *Principality of Orange* hath been notoriously Invaded, it would have looked very Natural, alter so many distressed *Hugonots* had filled *Holland* with their Complaints and Sufferings for Religion. This could not but think would have given *France* a seasonable diversion, that is now Ravaging the *Empire*, and disquieting the Peace of Christendom: This would also have been a sufficient Test upon His Majesty, whether He was in League with *France* or not, or would have fought the *French Kings* Quarrel in Defence of Persecution, and in the Princes's wrong; but it seems his *Father* and *Uncle*, of all others, must be the M

he will Attack, and England, of all Kingdoms, his Seat of War; and what that can mean, besides the Crown, is past my Comprehension; which leads me to consider the Particulars of his *Declaration*.

§. 5. He says in the First Paragraph, *That the Peace and Happiness of any State or Kingdom cannot be preserved where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs Established by the Lawful Authority in it, are openly Transgressed and Annulled; more especially where a Religion contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced, and that those who are most concerned are indispensibly bound to endeavour to maintain the Established Laws Liberties, and Customs; and above all, the Religion, and Worship of God.* This is a Stumble at the Threshold, the Proposition is confused, and ill distinguish'd, at best; for some Laws are better broke than kept, and without it Christianity had never come into the World; Laws for Idolatry cannot bind; Laws that Impose a Faith or Worship I think untrue, do not oblige me: Laws against Fundamental Right and Justice, are void in themselves; a Lawful Authority by exceeding or straining Points beyond their just bounds, may Act unlawfully.

Yet further, Introducing a Religion contrary to Law, may be justifiable; because Law doth not make a Religion true or false; so that a change may be unlawful and not unreasonable, or unchristian; in that a Religion that is so, may happen to have Law of it's side, as in the Case of *Judaism* and *Paganism*, when a change is from a false to the true, tho' it be unlawful by the Laws of a Country, it may be both Lawful and a Duty by the Law of God, nor can Human Wisdom or Measures bound Mankind in this Case, or be observed by them in a Point so much above it; less is any body *indispensibly bound* to such an Absurdity and Impiety. For if a Religion be not true, Who is bound indispensibly to maintain it, that does not turn Atheist and prefer Human Law above Divine Truth? And yet with Reverence be it spoken, as the Declaration runs, the *Legality*, and not the *Verity* of a Religion obliges the support of it. For my part, I think no Relation to a Government puts this Task upon any Man; or can excuse them that take it upon them, no not for the true Religion it self, if it be by such ways as Christ forebad. In fine, what Laws, Liberties and Customs are they, that are to be maintained? And what Religion, and by what means and methods is it to be done?

The Second Paragraph applies the First, *That Evil Counsellors here have overturned the Laws and Liberties, and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties and Properties, to Arbitrary Government.*

The Charge is great, for it leaves no one thing excepted from their Tyranny.

The Third Paragraph begins the Proof, *That those Evil Counsellors, to colour this with a plausible pretext, did invent the Kings Dispensing Power, and that the King can dispense with Laws made by King and Parliament for the Security and Happiness of the Subject, and so render'd the Laws of none effect.* But in this the Prince of Orange has been ill advised, and abused, for the matter of Fact is not true: One would think the Laws that would shake a Government to be dispens'd with, were the *Moral* Laws, or Laws of God, that are the Foundation of Government, and Rule of Vertue and Goodness; Laws that preserve Right to every Man, the Fundamentals of a Coun-

try; whereas the Laws dispens'd with, are Laws *restraining Conscience, punishing Non-conformity*, to the ruin of Thousands; Laws, that usurp God's Prerogative over Conscience, and that make people Offenders for what they can't help; Laws that destroy Property for Opinion, the Freehold of this World, for Faith about the next; which is *literally* against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Nature of Government, and of Rewards and Punishments, *blending* Civil with Religious things, overthrowing the ancient Hold and Title of the Free-man of England; the effect of Partiality, and the Interest of a Party only; the ground of all the Strife and Mischief this Kingdom hath laboured under for above an Age. These are the Laws His Majesty has dispensed with, for the Ease and Peace of His Subjects, and benefit of the Trade of the Kingdom, till redress can be had by Parliament: And this is made *His Crime*, and the Prince of Orange's Standard.

The Fourth Paragraph gives a Reason against the Dispensing Power, that is rather for it. His Highness shifts the Subject of the Question, and then makes the Inference: The Words are these; *The King can pardon Treason or Felony, but not suspend the Laws relating to Treason or Felony*: whereas the Question is not about, What is evil in it self; for all agree the King cannot dispense with Laws against Evils that are such in themselves, tho' he may pardon the Party offending the Law: But because He cannot do so, that therefore he may not dispense with a Law against an Evil that is not so in it self, but by Law only made so, for a Civil Conveniency, will not follow; for it is to say, That if the King can dispense with the Law that forbids the Exportation of Wooll, or Importation of *Irish Cattle* in case of a general Murrain in the Kingdom, he can also dispense with the Laws against *Sodomy, Theft, Perjury, &c.* which is a most inconsequent thing; and yet it is upon no better bottom that his Highness sets this Invasion. To end my Reflections here, It must be granted there is no higher Authority in *England*, than King, Lords, and Commons, and as true *They* only can Make and Abrogate Laws; but 'tis also true, that Dispensation is neither, and therefore not inconsistent with the Supreme Power of the Kingdom: Yet it ought not to be used, but about Temporary Laws; and where the Execution is an inconveniency to the Publick, and no hurt to any Man's Property, and at that time only when a Parliament cannot conveniently meet. Now let the Laws be read over that the King has dispens'd with, and the Terms He did it upon, and we shall find it is not impossible to support the Government without their Execution, when we consider the Execution of them had almost ruin'd the Kingdom: And whatever the Prince of *Orange* may please to Complement us with, *Dutch Good-Nature* we very well know at all the Markets in the World: *Liberty of Conscience* gave them their Trade, and That the Mighty Wealth they have; and they fear the Consequence of it here, lest what *We* should get, *They* might in a great degree lose; and unless *Dissenting Protestants* were not worth saving, the Prince might have found room enough for His Favour to Them at the latter end of the last King's Reign, when the Civil and Religious Rights of the best part of the People of *England* were lower much than they have been since this King came to the Crown. This by the by.

The fifth Paragraph is a Reflection upon the Ministers, *for tempting and shifting the Judges,*

Judges, and packing the Benches, to support the Dispensing Power. If there was any extraordinary Art used, or indirect Dealing with any of them, it was ill done, and such are answerable for it: But this a Parliament could have Censured as it deserved, without the help of an Invasion.

The sixth Paragraph strikes at *employing People without taking the usual Oaths and Tests*; which excludes from all Capacity in the Government as well *Protestant Dissenters* as *Roman Catholics*: This, in the Opinion of the Declaration, is ill done, and Crime enough for an Invasion. But others are of another mind, and say those Laws are from a private Spirit, a partial narrow Interest, contrary to the Privilege and Duty of the Subject, as well as the inseparable and indispensible Right of the King: However, this would have also had its due Consideration in a Parliament, where a *Papist* could not have fate, and whereas good *Protestants* would have fate, as ever were in Parliament.

The seventh Paragraph, tho' long, will need but a short Answer. 'Tis a Reflection upon the *Constitution and Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court*; both are at an end; the *Bishop of London* and *Magdalen College* are restored, and the *Commission* is broke: but I am very glad the Prince, in the Occasion of *Magdalen College*, shews himself so hearty for freedom of Election; some ill natur'd people were ready to say, They hop'd he was for it in *Holland* too.

The eighth Paragraph complains, *That Chappels are suffered to be built, and Monasteries erected against Law; the Jesuits teach Schools, and Father Peters is a Privy Counsellor; and finally that they are served and seconded by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.* Now, for their Chappels, they are places of Devotion, and not much more unlawful than the Dissenters Meeting-houses; which must be meant, and have a feeling through the other, both being against Law. But, under Correction, this doth not agree with Liberty of Conscience to *Papists* in the 19th Paragraph, no more than to refuse them Priests, without which they can exercise no Religion. For Monasteries I have heard of none, and of Schools but one: But this I know, they are to be found in *Holland* and *Jesuits* too; no wonder then if a *Popish* King hath admitted them: It is against Law in both places alike; only in *Holland* 'tis called Prudence, but here it must be *Subverting the Government*. For Father Peters, he is long ago of Age, and must answer for himself; but I am ready to think He had not been a Blot for the Prince to hit now, if he had thought fit to have as'd him of his Father out of a *Declaration*.

The ninth Paragraph complains of *laying aside the Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants, &c. because they would not concur to repeal the Test.* But before the King knew this would be a fault imputed in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, he was contented the Test should remain, and They be restored, and not to make any thing worse than it was. The King ever declared, he did not dislike the Test for the Security it was to the Protestant Religion, but the Affront it was to Himself; and on the other hand, all good Protestants as freely acknowledge, that they only desir'd to keep it because of its Security. The Consequence of which is, that if another Security could be found, Both were agreed in the Repeal: If nor, the Old one must remain, because the King from the first assured us, the Liberty should be so established that it should not be in the power of

His Own or any Party, to invade it: But must a Forreign Prince invade us upon every false step he thinks our Government makes, and yet that without warning?

The ninth Paragraph falls upon seizing of the Charters of the Corporations in *England*; and with some reason, if a Neighbour Prince may be allowed to meddle with our Administration: But, to be Just, it refers more to the late King's Reign, than to this; and, to His Majesty's great Honor let it be told our Children, he frankly restored them all, that he might lay the Foundation of *Legal and Free Parliaments* for the People of *England* in all time coming.

The tenth Paragraph is a Repetition and Aggravation of the *fifth*, about the *Judges*.

The eleventh Paragraph complains of the Ministers *putting in Popish Judges*, (tho' there never were but Two) and aggravates the *Uncertainty and Invalidity of those Judgments they have pass'd about the Person and Property of the Subject*; which is true, if upon a due enquiry it be found, after all Sir *Edward Cooke* has said in Favour of the King's Prerogative, that the King has not that Power; but at any time it seems hard that the Prince of *Orange* should be Judge or Chancellor upon the Question; and more, that before it be debated, he will invade the King about it. One would hardly credit it.

The twelfth Paragraph reaches *Ireland*, and says, *The whole Government is in the hands of Papists; and the Protestants, for fear of an other bloody Massacre, have left the Kingdom and their Estates*. And yet an hundred times more remain than are gone: And if the pleasure of a Court here had not made it uneasy living there for them, they might have render'd the Kingdom safer, and themselves happier than they now are. I did never apprehend the Policy, I confess, of making that great Change; but I was told the King and his Friends would be safe somewhere; and till they had fair and legal Quarter here, *Ireland* so dispos'd of, would help to make the better Bargain for them at home; and that done, the Kingdom to return, for the most part, into the old Channel: Nor is it possible, indeed, it should be otherwise at last; and therefore the matter I hope, will not be difficult to obtain.

The thirteenth Paragraph relates to *Scotland*, How far it can affect the *English Ministers*, is best known to themselves; but all the place that Kingdom can expect here, is, that we are Strangers to the Nature of the Government, and consequently know not how that Monarchy, and the Prerogative of it, bears proportion to Ours.

The fourteenth Paragraph begins as if it referred to the Oppressions of *Scotland*, and would justify the several insurrections of that People to deliver themselves, but ends in foster Practices of the discontented in *England*. It complains of the *Bishops usage for petitioning the King about reading the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*; and of *their appearing before professed Papists*; and that the *Judges were turned out that gave their Opinion in their favour*. But all this depends upon the Validity of the King's Declaration; for if That be Law, they were in the wrong. But let me make this short Reflection: The King is Head of their Church; they have preach'd up an indispensible Conformity and Obedience to the King's Commands in so far as he Commands nothing against the Law of God; and this was but a Nicety about the Law of Men. It was refused also at an ill time, and for an ill Turn; for it shew'd a *Dislike* to the Liberty it self.

that so many Thousands wanted; and where people accustomed to be severe, prefer the contrary, and yet refuse the Means of a softer Conduct, their excuses are ever suspected. It is now over, — and many wish it had never been: But still, must we be Invaded for this? was there no other Remedy?

The fifteenth Paragraph seems of great weight: It declares, *That the Prince and Princess of Orange have, in terms full of Respect, signified to the King their deep regret, which all these things gave them, and their thoughts about Repealing the Test and Penal Laws, as an Expedient of Peace, and a happy Agreement amongst the Subjects of all Persuasions: But the Evil Counsellors have so constr'd it, as to alienate the King more and more from them, as if they designed to disturb the Quiet and Happiness of the Kingdom.* And did they not say true, as it happens? Believe me, some Folks think many of Them are not often guilty of such foresight. But this signification to the King was but privately; why not a publick *Manifesto* before an Invasion? Had the Prince and Princess avowed the Nations Right in so peaceable a way, it had in all probability done the business; but this is to leap over all Bounds, and such as no body, that is a faithful and conscientious Subject, can tell how to follow. It is also hard to think the Ministers (to whom I am not naturally very partial) should make an ill use of their Highnesses Mediation and Expediency; for 'tis certain the King has almost come up to *Mijn Heer Pagels Letter*, that was the Declaration of their Mind, viz. *The Church of England, the Test, and Laws of Supremacy to remain*; the King concedes the First and Last, and the Legislative Test; why should not this have prevail'd to stop so violent an Attempt upon a Father and an Uncle? Let me add, That I have heard that the King wrote last, and that their Highnesses first broke the Correspondence, and that without a reason ever render'd for it.

The Sixteenth Paragraph tells us, *That the last and great Remedy of these Evils, is the Calling of a Parliament; but those Evil Counsellors are against it, for fear of being called to an account for their wicked Practices, that under pretence of Liberty of Conscience they had divided Protestants, that are equally concerned against Popish Oppressions; that they pre-engag'd Voices to take off the Test and Penal Laws for the next Parliament, and Regulate Corporations and Burroughs, that they might assure themselves of the members that are to be there chosen, that returns made by Popish Officers are invalid; that all Elections ought to be free by the Government, and Immemorial Custom of England; such a Parliament cannot be had now, but one perhaps, Chosen by Fraud and Force; for the same persons, tryed the Members of the last Parliament, to gain their Consent to the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, and got it Dissolved while they found they could not prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Designs.* This is a severe Censure; but for that end it was given; how deserved, is the question: But if it were so, what has this to do with the King? And yet it is the King and not the Ministers, that are Invaded: they may fly, or be turn'd out, or pardon'd, and escape the punishment; but the King remains, and must sustain the shock. This seems very unreasonable, that while the Counsellors commit the fault, the King and the Innocent Kingdom must pay the reckoning. It were not unfit to ask, If the Prince of Orange did ever desire the King to lay aside those Evil Counsellors he invades Him for using? For the Parliament His Mini-

...confess, that in the Corporations the King could influence by the new Charters
anted in His Brother's time, and those few that were in His; they were unwilling any
ould have His Interest, that were not for Liberty of Conscience, according to the King's
eclaration; but this was no new method, and yet we heard of no Invasion for it. A
uly-free Parliament is a Chimera; for by Money, Drink, or Power, Elections have
ver suffer'd an ill Byass upon them. In whose time was it, that *Thirteen* was Voted more
han *One and Twenty*; and what Religion were they of, that did so? and of whose side
ow? I will say no more of that. The last Parliament is named to reproach the Mini-
sters Conduct about this that was intended; and yet it was modell'd by some of the
ame hands, and the Members most of them chosen the same way, that is, upon new
Charters, by the Influence and Power reserved to the King in them. The change was
ow only of Men and Opinions, the way of choosing would have been the very same;
nd the Corporations under no greater or other Influence from the King, than they
were the last Parliament. I say this, to shew how little weight that Objection ought
o have, since *that Parliament* was as pack'd as *this* would have been, and conse-
quently not a freer or more legal Parliament, nor this more deserving an Invasion. To
conclude, I am sorry to hear the Merit of that Parliament lay in not taking off the
Penal Laws as well as the Tests, or that such a Character should excuse, nay recom-
mend to the *Prince* a Constitution as partial and corrupt as it is possible for him to ima-
gine this would have been. It is a feeling Complement to the Church of *England*, at
the cost of the poor Dissenter, that refusing to repeal such Laws by which He was ru-
n'd, should legitimate a *Parliament* born of the same Parentage this had descended
of, if it had not miscarry'd by this untimely *Invasion*.

The nineteenth Paragraph is what I am asham'd and troubled to name, a great and
violent Presumption, *That the Prince of Wales is an Imposture*, which is to say, a
Cheat put upon the World. The words are these: *But to Crown all, there are great and*
violent presumptions, inducing us to believe, that those Evil Counsellors, in order
to the carrying on their ill Designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for
the effecting of them, for the encouraging their Complices, and for the discouraging
all good Subjects, have published that the Queen hath brought forth a Son; tho' there
have appeared, both during the Queens pretended Bigness, and in the manner in which
the Birth was managed, so many just and visible Grounds of suspicion, that not only
We our selves, but all the Good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that
the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen: And it is notoriously known,
to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queens Bigness, and of the Birth of
the Child; and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfie them, or to put an end
to their doubts. Now, tho' this hath been done, and a low stop it was, God knows,
for a Great King to make; but that He can hardly refuse any thing, that may give the
weakest of His Subjects satisfaction. It is, I confess, above the present temper of
my Mind to forbear some Reflection upon this Jealousie. What ground had the *Prince*
and *Princess* to entertain it? The *Doubt* is expressed, but the *Reason* conceal'd.
Is not *this* as unreasonable as *that* is scandalous? Did they ever write to the King a-
bout

about this Point; in which, as the *Prince* says in the beginning of the next Paragraph, *He and the Princess are so much concern'd?* Did the King refuse to satisfy them? If not, could a greater Impiety or a more execrable Imposture, be insinuated against the most flagitious and profligated persons, than by this Paragraph, is reflected upon the *King and Queen*, and that *Great Presence* that have witness'd the *Prince's Birth*? The *Prince of Orange* is to be greatly pity'd, that he should fall into so severe and ungenerous a Diffidence, below the common Faith and Justice due to Mankind; the effect of the perpetual restless workings of a lewd Crew of *Renegadoes*, too freely and nearly admitted by him, who fail not to say any thing, that may Alien the *Prince's Heart* from the King; for the distance they make is their own Fortune. The *Prince of Wales's Birth*, is so incontestably proved, that it were a Crime to think it needed any other Defence; but this suggestion, that is by the Declaration made the Crown of the wicked Counsellors evil devices, shews what hath been a Brewing at the *Hague*, what Motives some would make rather than fail; which puts me in mind of some Peoples late and frequent drinking of the *Prince of Wales's* health in *Holland*; for said they, if He Die our business is spoiled, & we shall never stir hence, meaning the Invasion would stop; so that the true reason why the *Prince of Orange* ought not to concern himself with what is done here, more than the *Emperor* or the *King of France*, is by his own followers made the reason why he does Invade us, That is, *there is a Prince of Wales born*; which needs no Comment.

§. 22. The Eighteenth Paragraph says, *Since their Highnesses have so great an Interest in the business of the Succession, and since the English shewed themselves so kind to the Dutch Nation when Invaded with an unjust War in 72. together with that Affection the English Nation has ever testified for their Highnesses, he could not excuse himself from contributing all that lyes in him, for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, and securing to them the continual enjoyments of all their just Rights, to the doing of which he is most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks.* This is the *Prince's Call*; pray let us briefly examin it. Their Highnesses are concerned in the Succession; must the *Prince of Wales* therefore be a supposed Child? Or must they therefore have the examining of it with an Army? Is the *King, Queen*, and the People present of both Religions, no proof? Was not this known to them before the *Prince's* Embarquing, by private hands? But if the presumption of the *Prince of Wales* being not Born of the *Queen* be so great and violent, why is there nothing said to render such a violent presumption reasonable to the World? Else it looks like a very great and violent Injustice: Believe me, to set up, upon the infamous *Shams* and *Legends* of the *Male-contents*, is a wretched bottom for such an attempt; the Monument might as well stand upon the other end; for the *Princes's* other Motives, the Affection of the *English Nation* to their Highnesses, and their kindness to the *Dutch* when Invaded by the *French*, does not justify, but reproaches the present Invasion, that cannot be thought to end without making many Fatherless and Widows, spoiling Trade, wasting and impoverishing the Countrey; a lamentable return to *England*; that which Wise Men fear, and Fools may feel before the Miseries of such an Enterprize are over. But the last Motive is, the Call and Invitation of a

great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and many Gentlemen and Subjects of all Ranks. This I confess is a hard saying: For it is but High Treason in those that did so. However, I would believe better things of them, tho' on the other hand the *Prince of Orange* is not one to say positively a thing he did not believe: But it is certain the Lords and Bishops about the City renounce it, and they are the most Eminent of both Benches. I confess, Passive Obedience and Non-resistance were in an ill pickle if that were true; but doubtless the *Prince* is abused, as the Duke of *Monmouth* was before him.

§. 23 The Nineteenth and Twentieth Paragraph refers all to a *Free Parliament*, as well what relates to the ill Conduct objected against us, the Business of the *Prince of Wales*, the Succession and Settlement of our Civil and Religious Rights: But with Reverence let me ask, Can the *Prince of Orange* have any pretence to refer other Mens business? He is neither *Heir apparent* nor *Presumptive*; and if he were, our Laws know no such Doctrine. Is this the way to preserve the Rights of the Crown, to refer these of the present Possessor over his head? Surely it looks too much like an officious Appeal to the people against their own King. This may indeed trouble our waters, and make it good Fishing for some of his Indigent followers, but it were an unpardonable levity in us, that being in Possession of what the *Prince* promises, we should choose Blood rather than not change the hand that gives it us: He that hath the best right can make us the best Title to what we have or want, and is it unreasonable, both in Conscience and Prudence, to look any further; at least, till we are refused by him.

The Twenty first Paragraph, promises *Strickt Discipline in his Army*, and that it shall return as soon as the State of the Nation will permit. This is but a Foreigners word against our own Kings: Let Allegiance speak which of the two we ought to Trust. The Army consists mostly of *Forreigners*; of diverse Nations and Religions. I fancy no pleasant sight to *English* people; for they must live out of their Houses: But why the Army go back and not the *Prince*? Does he choose to be a Subject here, before a *Prince* at home, or to exchange Principalities? Then 'tis a Conquest. The words are *Mysterious*, and yet not so hard to fathom, when we read the next three Paragraphs.

§. 24. The Twenty second, Twenty third, and last Paragraph, shew but too plainly his design upon the Crown: In one, he Summons the *Nobility, Gentry*, and whole People of England to his Standard. It so, who must stay with the King? This does not look like a Treaty, or saving the King from His Evil Councillours, and therefore to be King. In the next, he will take care that a *Parliament* be call'd in Scotland for the Restoring of that Kingdom also, to its old constitution: And not that the King should do it. The like he says of *Ireland*, in his last Paragraph of his Declaration: But that which most of all strengthens this Apprehension, is his *Additional Declaration*, which consists of these two parts, an angry and scornful reflection upon the Kings late Gracious Concessions to his People, and that he comes not to conquer; both which shews it in a several manner: For if the *Prince* came to gain or oblige the King to what he pretends, he would have Reformed, every step towards it, ought to have been received with great satisfaction and respect, and the cheaper got, the better: But in stead of laying hold

of that condescension to carry it farther in a softer way, and rejoycing that so much was done to his hands, he is Grum, and renders it a Trick, and calling the People to seek a re-establishment of their Religion and Laws, under his Arms. It is a virious Palat indeed, that thinks Blood gives a Reformation the better relish; Bargains drive hard where that is shed, and 'tis rarely shed, before tryal made, but to prevent just ones, if that be the cause let God decide it.

The other Point is *Conquest*; he denies it; his reason against Peoples believing it, is, *That so many of all Qualities that invited him hither, would not desire to lose their Estates; and be made Slaves of.* But what is this to the King, or the rest of the Nation that don't call him in? He that conquers the King, conquers England; for his are the People, who has the Crown. He that beats the King, succeeds to the Kingdoms, but not to the *Obligation* the conquer'd Prince lay under: And if he gets the Crown by the Sword; they are well natur'd that think he will not keep it by the Sword. His defective Title will require a Stronger Army to support it: Besides, it is his Passion; his Education has been under that Discipline, and his Skil is in Martial Affairs. He told his Father (he now invades) nine years ago, *That his Army had cost him 1300 Lives to bring it to that Discipline it was in;* a story that we, who talk of *Magna Charta's* and *Habeas Corpus-Laws*, may at leasure think upon. In fine, he does not seem to me to seek the Kings compliance in his Declaration, but to fear it; and designs to leave no room for it; and is so far from being pleased with what he hath done, that it has drawn an *Additional Declaration* from him, against the Credit of it; and tells he is not to be trusted, which is to say, himself is: But if that day come, *English Men* may pray, that it may be in better Terms. than the *States of Holland* did, to whom he Swore *never to be State-holder tho' it should be offered to him*, and yet is now that very *State-holder*, he Swore never to be, on any Terms. Measure the Priviledges of the present *Dutch Government* by the *Standart* of their Ancient Liberties, and the dis-proportion will be much greater than between *London* and *Brandford*.

I will conclude, that it all looks very odd, and a contradiction in every part of it. The Prince of *Orange*, that has lest no Liberty at home, intends to secure ours here, and being a (*Synod of Dort*) Presbyterian, will establish an *Arminian Church* of *England*. *Independent Ferguson* comes to settle Episcopacy. *Balfour*, one of the Murtherers of the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, to defend our Bishops from Persecution. *Dr. Burnet*, with an Army, to maintain *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*. *Major Wildman* and *Manty*. to Establish the Monarchy. *Admiral Herbert*, *Sir Robert Payton* and *Captain Matthews*, to secure the Protestant Religion, before they have been guilty of any. From such sort of Protectors, *Good Lord deliver us.*